

A Smith and Cutlers Plain Dialogue about WHIG and TORY.

Good morrow Neighbour, what News have we this morning?

C. There's a great noise of the *French* baffling our Fleet, which differently affects such as come to buy Swords at my Shop.

S. I find the same, with persons that come to buy Armes from me.

C. If you note your men, you'll find the countenance of the Tory well pleased; but the Whig incensed. The Tory excuseth *Torrington*, and the Non-fighters; the Whig condemns them. The Tory revileth the *Dutch*, the Whig applaudeth them. The Tory obstructs our preparations by subtil Tricks, the Whig is intent to remove the Reproach and prevent our danger, though he fear nothing as the Treachery of Tory, and therefore is more forward to act separate from him, than in conjunction with him.

S. I find them whom people call Whiggs and Tories as divided in their Sentiments of the *Irish* affairs, the Tory compassionates *K. James's* defeat, the Whig rejoyleth at it, the Tory grumbles at *K. W.* Reputation and great Deliverance; the Whig is pleased therewith, and heartily bleisseth God for it: the Tory seems to hope the work there will not be so soon finished, the Whig cheerfully concludes the difficulty over. The Tory is concerned that *K. W.* is like to return so soon, the Whig earnestly longs for it; though he was afraid of his going thither.

C. The difference between these Whiggs and Tories is so great in every thing, as if they were neither of one Religion, Country, or Nature.

S. I hear a confused Talk of Whig and Tory, I could wish I well understood what is intended by these Names, and how I may know the men.

C. The whole Kingdom is divided into Whig and Tory, and ever was, and will be distinguished by that which these later names do signify, it concerns us to understand them, that we undo not our selves by following the wrong side in our Votes or otherwise; for our Nations safety or ruin depends on this, whether the Whigg or Tory do prevail.

S. I have been made to believe that all the Church of England are Tories, and only the Dissenters are the Whiggs.

C. What can be a plainer mistake? For the Heads and chief Body of the Whiggs are in the Church of England, and Dissenters are only Helpers to the Church Whiggs, as the Papists do assist the Tory. Observe in all Elections, are they not generally constant Churchmen whom the Dissenters vote for, look into the late Convention and Parliament, you'll not find there Twenty Dissenters, though it was called a Whiggish Parliament.

S. I see its a cheat that Dissenters are the only Whiggs. But others tell me that all such are Tories who are for Monarchy, and all the Whiggs for a Common-wealth.

C. That's as false as the other. The Whigg is for an *English* Monarchy, tho not a *French* one. The Whigg is for the Common-weale, that is for the general good of the Nation, but he is not against Kingly Government, yea he is zealous for *K. W.* and *Q. M.* whereas the Tory would enslave the Nation under the Name of Monarchy, and destroy Parliaments and Liberty under the name of a Common-wealth.

S. It seems then that civil Rights divide the Whigg and Tory, the Whigg is concerned to preserve them, the Tory to destroy them.

C. You have the true notion, especially if you add, that a base design of enriching himself on the Ruins of publick Liberty is the Heart of Torism, the very Tory himself would not be a Slave, but that he may be able to enslave others that are below him.

S. Can you tell me, what are the Principles of a Tory?

C. Its hard to resolve you, because a Tories Principles are suted to all new occasions, and they never govern him further then a selfish end can be served, yet if they have any Principles, with most they are these, to scruple nothing so it may serve a present turn, to let up the will of a Prince above all Laws so that the Prince will gratifie him, to anoint the succession with a *Fus divinum* if it serve the Tory Intrest; to give Bribes for Places, that he may cheat the Publick; to cry up Non-resistance when he hath all the Power, and bear nothing when stripe of all chief Employments; to hector bravely rather than fight; to make a tearing noise, when he cannot answer reasons; to insult over all below him, and basely flatter all in power. To cry up the Church, or such popular terms for destroying that Government they cannot bewitch. To oppose by all Arts the employment of a Whig, and grossly bely every honest Candidate in any election. To buy Fools Votes in all Elections, that he may sell their Birthright, and get back his bribe in a large Pension, for an oppressive Tax. To do no Man right, unless he purchase it, and sell his Country to his utmost influence, where he can gain a little by the bargain. In short, if you can tell me the instincts of an abject selfish Spirit in all occasions, those be a Torys Principles.

S. God deliver me and mine from the power of a party acting by such rules. But what are the Principles of a Whig?

C. They are the common Sentiments of every Soul that's virtuous, brave and manly, to love his Country, to esteem and uphold its civil Liberties; to expect no more than Law and Justice allows him, and to expect all that. To defend his Birthright and Laws, if fundamentally invaded; and yet bear Hardships in his own concerns, so the Nation prosper: To deserve an employment, and not buy it: To manage his Office by rules of Justice and Humanity. To resent an injury from his Superiour, and to treat his Foes with equity, yea, to pity even a Tory in distress; to fight fairly rather than huff; to satisfy his Judgment in every vote, whoever is offended; to enrich his Family by diligence, and not by the Spoils of others; to quit the best employment rather than to betray his Country: To have all power regulated by the Laws; to have Kingship and Parliaments conform to our English constitution, which is adapted to the common good: To scorn a base action, Perjury, falsehood, and little Tricks.

S. How degenerate is the Land that can dislike to be governed by such Principles as these? But pray what would these Tories be at, if they could obtain their wishes?

C. They would have a King a Slave to his own Lusts, and the Tories Intrest; and then they would set him above all Laws: Parliaments must be Cyphers, or cease to be; Souldiers be Lords paramount, Courts of Justice be at beck to wreak their Malice, and give causes according to a Court letter; they would have all mens Estates at the Kings pleasure, that is in their own disposal. They would have all Whigs destroyed whether Churchmen or Dissenters, all rights of Election removed, and all Officers of Corporations in their nominating. They would have corrupt Judges and Sheriffs and pack'd Juries, the Laws a Noise of Wax, and every mans life precarious. They would have all the power of the Church, and cry of the Pulpits serve a Tyrannical purpose, for

lake of preferment in their hand to give. They would have Liberty be vile without restraint, and oppressive beyond all Danger or Constraint.

S. They would have Hell upon Earth. I should be glad to hear what the Whiggs desire?

C. They desire the Security of the real Protestant Religion in an aptitude to Christian purposes, they desire the safety of true Honour and Strength of their present Majesties Government; free and just Elections of Parliaments, that Parliaments redress grievances and propose necessary Laws, that the Revenues and Taxes, of the Nation by Parliaments may be as great as may support the Strength and Honour of the Government and Nation, and be justly employed to these uses and not to nourish the Lusts of Flatterers, or enrich prerogative Favourites. That the Laws have a free course and just execution. That men of probity and worth be in all Employments, that Courts of Justice be incorrupt, that every mans life and property be secure, Virtue and industry encouraged, no place of Trust sold for money, nor Bribes allowed. That Cheaters of the publick and betrayers of their Country be punished, and the well-deserving find reward: that gross villanies be under restraint, no more Souldiers kept than the Nations exigence requires, while they own at present to be great. That the freedom and liberties of Corporations be upheld. And in fine, that neither Anarchy nor Tyranny be our plague or danger. These are the worst things the Whiggs desire.

S. Its strange that any English-man should obstruct these honest and happy designs; and since you have thus awakened me, I would learn to distinguish between the persons of Whig and Tory.

C. These very opposite principles and designs will direct you as far as they appear in the stated course of any man. But you may receive some further light, if you observe how men have been divided since the names of Whig and Tory obtained in England. To give you a few instances. The Tory was in Parliament a Pensioner, the Whig disdain'd it. The Tory abetted every motion for the Prerogative against the peoples good, the Whig opposed it. The Whig petitioned for a Parliament, the Tories subscribed an abhorrence of those Petitions. The Tory was for stifling the Popish Plot, the Whig for the prosecution of it. The Tory was the rigid persecuter of the Dissenters, the Whig saw the Popish design, and spared them. The Whig was for the Bill of Exclusion, the Tory against it, and addressed in zeal for the Duke. The Tory was eager in pursuing the sham Protestant plots, the Whig would have defeated those vile designs. The Tory was for delivering up the Charters, the Whig against it. The Tory was for all the irregular and violent elections, as of *N---h R---h, &c.* the Whig for the right and just elections, as of *Mr. Papiion, Dubois, &c.* for which in London they were generally turned out of the Liveries, fined, &c. The Tory was the Court tool in all bloody Juries, whereby our best Protestant blood was let out: the Whig while a Jury-man in such trials, was *Ignoramus* and Not Guilty; and when Sheriffs were got for the Popish turn, he was no more employed. The Tory you might find in the Lieutenancy, Militia, Bench, and all power, when the Whigs were crowded in Prisons, or hiding, in constant expectation of death, as soon as the blood-hounds gave the Tory a hint of the Courts pleasure.

S. We have poor memories that need be reminded of Characters so late and signal, yet the Tories were not against *K. James* at last.

C. You may well say at last, for they augmented his Revenue without any security against Popery or Slavery; they did all they could to engage his Confidence; they were his Tools to ruin the Whigs, and persecute Dissenters while he judged that his Intrest; did they ever make the least halt, till they saw that all their Courtship failed to secure their power and employments? whereas had not a divine infatuation dissolved the union betwixt him and the Tories, he had destroyed the Whigs by their hands, and then necessitated the Tories compliance with his utmost designs.

S. But some Dissenters seem'd *K. J's* Tools at last.

C. Fondness of ease after such hardships, enmity against Tories, and weakness betrayed some very few: But what were these in Number to the Tories, whom he employed to the last? What real Power durst he ever trust the Dissenter with? By such as were in little Employments, the Bulwark of Protestant and Civil Rights was stronger than when in Tory Hands: And once for all several Ministers, in the Name of the Dissenters, did offer *K. James* to lay down their Liberty, rather than contribute to the Publick Ruine, by declaring they would stand by his Declaration, which he proposed to them; when the Bishops were in the Tower, and the Body of Dissenters were of the same Mind.

S. Many of the Tories were seemingly unanimous for the *P. of Orange*.

C. They were so; but it soon appeared it was in hopes Torism might be reformed; Was not the impulsive vanished as soon as they suspected, that instead of delivering up *K. James* into their management, the Prince was like to fill the Throne.

S. I well remember how our Tory Aldermen, and others, were for courting the late *K. James* at his return, and how the Leaders of the Tories were against the Abdication.

C. And do you forget, that when they could not prevent the Sovereignty of *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, how they concurred to sink the Government? These delayed the relief of *Ireland*; these continued *King James's* Forces, to necessitate Guards to keep them harmless; How zealous for the Sacrament Test, lest the *K.* might enjoy the assistance of such that would be trusty; and further, they did what they could to irritate them: These delayed to raise Money; they expensively laid out the Treasure, to necessitate such Taxes as will render the Vulgar uneasie; these got in Tools fitted to make Army and Navy useless and dangerous; the Honour of the King was asperfed by them in Pamphlets and Talk; these imputed to the weakness of the Government all the effects of their own faults and ill-management. To say nothing of the Non-swearers levening the Nation against the King and Queen.

S. I have heard many wonder, that after most of the Tories had sworn Allegiance to our present King and Queen, they should yet be against imposing that Oath on the Clergy, against the Bill of Recognition, against owning their present Majesties to be rightful King and Queen, though they knew a King *de facto* only, is but an Usurper, whom every Man is bound to his utmost to dethrone, whilst another hath the Right; and that by this vain distinction the greatest Enemies were legally capable of all Power: these were against renouncing *K. James* and indeed against every thing that seemed most serviceable to the present Constitution; all which convince me that the Tory Enemies of the

Government, who swear to it, are far worse Men than such as refuse to swear.

C. Alas! How many do profanely juggle in their Prayers, mock at the present Rats, plead for K. James, bemoan K. William's success, and rejoice at any News threatening ruin to our Settlement?

S. By their Discourses and Carriage, I am confident many of them are for restoring K. James by this French Invasion, and not a little concerned in the Plot we hear of.

C. Some of this Sort are apprehended; and I wish none be guilty, who by their greater Influence will be more fatal. He need not Divine, who can see this Plot in the late publick attempts in City and Country.

S. It's unaccountable to me, that Church Whigs were cast out of Employ, to make room for the most notorious Tories: Oh, what Men are some, dignified in our Lieutenantcy and Militia: What endeavours to press an imitation of our example through the Kingdom? What spending of Money and Pains to get Tools for Mayor, Sheriffs, and Common-Council Men? When I hear some Men talk, it's not hard to judge what use their Power will be put to; if opportunity be given; and I am sure we may thank God that they carried it not for Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.

C. Their goodness is some security; but we may bless God for the reasonable Success of our King in Ireland, it's that which stifles the Design which the French Fleet hovers on our Coasts in expectation of, though as yet God hides from them the advantages which England's Treachery and Jealousies give them.

S. Whether are the Whigs or Tories the greater number?

C. The Whigs are far the greater number, though the Tory makes the louder noise; for though on the Restoration the Tories had all the advantages, by the obnoxiousness of the Whigs, on account of the late times; though K. Charles's Reign did as much as could be to debauch the Nation; though all Power was in Tory Hands; the cry of the Pulpit was engaged for them; the Dissenters forely persecuted for Whiggism, not Nonconformity: the Trimmer affrighted to a Neutrality; and the basest Bribes and Arts used to make Parliament-Members; yet the Whigs carried it in the three last Parliaments, in K. Charles's time; if it was so then, you may be sure the Whig is more numerous now, when the Trimmer, delivered from fear, is truly Whiggish; and many Tories see their weakness, who, after instances of honesty, may be relied on, and sooner he will not expect our Vote for him to any place, but joyn with us in the choice of one more approved.

S. Which is the stronger Interest in England, if the Government stand Neutral.

C. Besides the Ballance in Number, every whig is in himself, for Steadiness and Courage, worth five Tories; and in his Influence among his Neighbours he can outdo forty of equal rank, his Cause and his Carriage commend him; whereas a Tory Cause will engage few to venture farther than Power forceth, or Places bribe, and his guilt and intolerance expose him to the dislike of all indifferent Men.

S. How come the Tories to seem strong, when their Interest is not great.

C. Partly by the Numbers they have made partakers in their past guilt, principally by the Places and Power which they too off possess in the Government.

S. What way did the Tory use to get Power heretofore.

C. He still promised the King arbitrariness in Power, Obedience without regard to Law, or Justice, and as much Money as his Lust did crave; he bought Offices at a dear price, well knowing how to make the Publick bear his charges: When Parliament-Members, or other Officers were to be elected, he had Agents to bribe the popular Men, to flatter and make drunk the ordinary People, and threaten such whom they could not otherwise incline, which is yet no small thing with them who so rarely felt their revenge: Besides these, they never wanted some new invented Lye to asperse their Competitor. To say nothing of Cabals, Letters from Court, the personal appearance of their influencing Leaders, yea the struggle of the whole Posses of the Faction.

S. They have an ill turn to serve who use methods so base: But what way did the Whig take?

C. He approved himself to Men's judgment, he trusted to the goodness of his Cause, to his Integrity, Merit, and faithful discharge of every former Trust; if these inclined Men to abet his choice, well and good; but if Men would be Fools and Slaves for Ale and Pelf, he pitted them, and scorn'd to outbid his Rival.

S. As far as Virtue governs the Electors and Disposers of Places this way is better: But what have the effects of Toryism been?

C. The Government weaken'd and almost destroyed, by setting up a Kingly Interest in opposition to the Peoples, the true English Virtue and Courage lost, the excessive growth of the French Power, the Nations Glory and Influence in Foreign Courts sunk, Trade discouraged, and the trading part of the Nation subjected to base Informers and perjur'd Witnesses, our greatest Patriots, as Russell, Sidney, Cornish, &c. murdered, and all others forced to fly, or live in expectation of ruin, whenever the Tory thought it reasonable: Corporation stocks mispent, all their Rights violated; the Kingdom debauched and divided: These and a thousand such Fruits may the Tory boast of, and the Nation curse him for.

S. I well remember these, notwithstanding the Whig's opposition, which makes me dread to ask you what will the condition of the Kingdom be if Toryism prevail?

C. Every Man's Life will be at the Mercy of a pack'd Jury, if you have any Jurics at all; all Courts of Justice will be guided by the direction and hints of any Man of Power; no honest Man can call any thing his own, what he hath labour'd for must be at the pleasure of a Minister of State, and all his Underlings; Parliaments will be dismiss'd, or signify what they do in France, viz. execute the King's resolves, and bring desolating Poverty by oppressive Taxes; Soldiers will hector in our Families; Trade and Industry cease; the worst of Men have all the Power, and each preferred as he is fitted to oppress, or most pernicious to the People's Good, wherein even every Tory must outbid each other. Monopolies, Spoils, and ruines. In a Word, we shall live Slaves, as they do in France and Turkey.

S. A dreadful State! But what have been the effects of Whiggism?

C. The preserving us thus long from these utmost Miseries: What of our Civil Rights or Happiness we possess are owing to Whiggism; judge you in what a condition had England been, if Parliaments, Laws, and Justice had had none to favour them, or to stem the off rising Tide of Oppression, if all Whigs had been Tories, these late Reigns must have extinguish'd the Memorial of our Liberties: The present happy change is owing to Whiggism. The Tories for once became more powerful for their private ends, than the Whigs are at any time for a publick Good.

S. Even the Tories Posterity will have cause to bless the Whigs. Shall I ask you what will the State of the Nation be, if Whiggism prevail?

C. The true English Government will be supported, and the great ends of Government be our Blessing; the King strong in the love of his People, every Man secure of his Liberty and Property, Vice grow detestable, England's Honour and Courage recover it self, Juries and Judges equally determine Causes, the Virtuous and Men of Merit be employed, and hence Taxes easie, Trade, Industry, and Wealth flourish.

S. But will not Whiggism bring in a Common-Wealth?

C. Never, unless Tory Struggles force it, the Government will be too strong and grateful otherwise to be attempted by any Man.

S. Why should any Man be a Tory?

C. Because it's easier to flatter one Prince, than by worth acquire reputation with the People; it's easier to buy a Place, than deserve it; it's easier to gratify the Lusts of others, than subdue ones own; yea, it's easier to spoil others, than honestly acquire an Estate, by pains and thrift.

S. Who are likely to be Tories, for I fancy Constitution and Circumstances lead Men to be Whig and Tory.

C. They are fitted to be Tories, who are so foolish as to be Bigots, or not to know their own Interest; they that be of slavish tempers, that are so idle as not to take pains for an Estate, or that prodigally spending it, are not honest and brave enough to disdain base ways to repair it; they that be Cowards, that love Power or Riches above a Common Good; the ill-natur'd and cruel, the Rake-hell that loves not Sobriety or Justice in another, and is resolved never to merit the good Opinion of his Country, or seek its good: Opportunity will make Tories of such Brutes as these; whereas all of the contrary temper will be Whigs.

S. Tories are not all Fools, some few have been crafty enough, and by employ in ill times, seem to the unthinking the only able Men.

C. The Leaders are commonly a few Men of parts, of too great Ambition, these recommending themselves to be the active instruments of a weak Prince, and keeping Light and Truth from him, do form the Tory Herd to their own purposes; their more cunning Followers shall divide the lesser spoils, whilst the main Body of the Tories are casold with foolish Hopes, and the pleasure of huffing and domineering.

S. When will the Tory be dangerous?

C. Only when a Prince that mistakes imaginary Power, for real, shall make them able by Offices to do harm; otherwise their designs are too pernicious, and their Persons too hateful to invite Partakers.

S. A wife and just Prince never need to fear them, nor will he of choice employ them: But can Whiggism be destroyed in England.

C. Not while there's Honesty, Industry, Generosity, or good Beef; for these will still inspire a Whiggish Spirit, and maintain the contest till the Nation be worse than Bedlam.

S. Can Toryism prevail under the Government of K. W. and Q. M.

C. No, unless by even a greater Miracle, than any this Government hath hitherto subsist'd by; for K. William's Title is Whiggish, and most of his real Friends, whom the Tory must undo, are Whigs; the Body of the Tories hate him, and must always suspect him, unless he could turn Oppressor, Persecutor, and Debauchee; which his Virtue is too great to admit. The seeming Whiggish Tories, if they would attempt to flatter him with Prerogative, are so few, that they must put Power into the Jacobite's Hand to undo the Government on the first occasion, who otherwise will fall in with the Whig to oppose the Tory Whiggish, and preserve their Rights, if they despair of K. W. If the Tories have any Principle it is the Sacredness of the Succession, which they will not want Men to mind them of, whilst K. James or his Son are in Being: We have honest Judges during good behaviour, we have a Bill of Rights, the reproach of Whiggism is removed, the Right Hand of Toryism (Passive Obedience) is withered, Tory-Leaders are under an Oath, but what need I say more, our late danger may convince the Blindest: Did not the Tories generally reckon on the dissolution of the Government, and appear in all respects ready to contribute to it? According to the Tories power, the King's Interest was sensibly weak, and the whole frame not likely to endure a small shock, if the Whiggish Body (especially among the Common people) had not supported it: But such hints are too rare and miraculous for a Government to subsist by, and I hope the Tory can never allure K. William to attempt that, which he came to destroy, and which is so inconsistent with his Safety as well as Honour, he has too Glorious Things in his purpose abroad to rest on a Generation, who are easily brib'd by French Money, too void both of Principle and Courage, careless of their greatest protestations, as well as their Country's Honour, think it innocent to defend and waste the publick Treasure, and able to serve any King (whom they shall please) in nothing, but despoiling his own Subjects: This were unaccountable always, but especially after such experiments, and when there are Whigs sufficient for number and fitness to accomplish his greatest designs, and who be true to all his just and real Interests.

S. I see our good King and Queen can neither Reign at home, nor conquer abroad by any but the Whigs; but I find the Whigs are sometimes warm of late.

C. But it is from zeal for K. W. and Q. M. foreseeing how impossible it is by the Tory to keep out K. J. and a dread of those Tory mischiefs which they can hardly bear under the most grateful Name.

S. What is meant by the Church which the Tories still cry up?

C. Neither the Protestant Faith nor Worship; for these Dissenters subscribe to, nor meet Episcopacy, for the Church Whig is for this. But the word Church is differently used, according as the Tories are divided; with some it's King James, with others it's Slavery; with the formal Bigot it's a few Ceremonies, with others it's excessive grandeur in the Prelates, Pluralities to the lower Clergy, and licentiousness of life, and power of oppression for both the Tory Clergy and Laity. With all these it's Tory power to check the Rivals for the Crown, and ruin the people. This is the Church in the Devils Clubs, and Country Towns, when the Legion is forming against every honest election or publick good.

S. This looks like a combination of ill men for illegal Dominion, rather than the flock of Christ, especially when all the sober men of the same Communion are denied to be members of their Church. I thank you for undeceiving me, nothing shall ever induce me to assist Toryism more: I find the Tory is the worst enemy to his Country, because he undermines its liberty, and hates its well; and he is not much a better friend to Religion, for he cannot endure the serious practice of it in one of his own Communion.

C. What I have said is only fitted to such common people as are selves, who yet are like to signify somewhat: It's plain truth, that God us, and as far as I see, most of England hopes and desires our good, such middling people as you and me.